

# THE ABOLITIONIST

## A Publication of the Radical Libertarian Alliance

*Has not the experience of centuries shown that gradualism in theory is perpetuity in practice?*  
—William Lloyd Garrison

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### LETTER TO THE MOVEMENT

Dear Abolitionist People,

I have found in the past that discussions with you have helped me sharpen my position on a number of key libertarian questions. At the moment—as you may be aware—I am a bit “down” on libertarians in general. Frankly I do not see the libertarian “movement” as “moving” anywhere in particular. I believe that our error in this regard has been to spend too much time discussing the “end system” we envision (radical laissez faire, just property allocations and absolute voluntarism) and not enough time on how we are going to get there. A political movement is defined by its political actions. Its actions are determined by the tactical movement *without a sense of tactics is a movement* doomed to historical irrelevance—as the Individualist Anarchist movement of the 19th century demonstrates.

To date we have borrowed—indiscriminately—the tactics of a number of other social movements: our bookservice patterned on the Randian tactic of “educating” and “converting” people. RLA patterned—if “patterned” can apply to an organization so lacking in real form—on early decentralist SDS.

Have we really ever asked ourselves what we were going to *do* with our converts once we get them? Note: I am not discussing the important but *secondary* question “how can we most easily get converts.” I am asking a question that seems naive, perhaps absurd. But the question only seems absurd because it is so fundamental.

It seems to me that the *implicit* tactical theory of the founders of RLA—in as much as any theory can be deduced from our actions is that we want a large number of people to read THE ABOLITIONIST, and be exposed to the theoretical tenets of radical libertarianism. We presumably want these converts to continue to “bring people” into our “movement”—i.e., we want our first converts to convert some more. The purpose of all this: to spread the ideas of RLA fairly widely in the culture.

Fine then. Two questions arise: 1) assuming that we grow about as quickly as the Jehovah's Witnesses (I am not being facetious) and in 80 years we have about 20 million really dedicated—intellectually dedicated—converts, what are we going to do then? Historically, successful political movements have evolved with groups whose interests they militantly defend and from which groups they, naturally, recruit new members. To date we have recruited academic types, and such types being



isolated from any real oppression—we have had no one really to defend. As state coercion and monopoly state capitalism continues, perhaps by the time we have 20 million students and academicians in our fold there will be real oppression to struggle against. But I doubt that those who are attracted to theoretical libertarianism will ever be the sort to suffer direct state aggression. The liberal state, which can tolerate *any* abstract utopian creed is not likely to come down on us too heavily. My point: even when we have 20 million believers, they are not likely to be the sort of people who will *act* against the ruling class on their own accord, and will probably never really be the sort who will be *pushed* into action by our wise and fairly tolerant rulers.

#### THE PURPOSE OF RLA?

My second question is: since LABS is admirably carrying on the work of propaganda—what is the purpose of RLA at the moment? It appears to date that its function has been to provide a banner under which some forty people could walk in Washington, thereby acting as a guerilla theatre to get a dozen people to subscribe to the ABOLITIONIST. What else is RLA? Propagandizing on the local level, you reply? That is good, if we hold that our twenty million future libertarians will someday move to “smash the state.” I do not think they will, hence I fear that the propaganda effort is useless—as presently performed. Even if it is useful, what are *we* doing for RLA, to aid local groups in organizing? At the very least we should announce in the ABOLITIONIST *and elsewhere* that we will *help* libertarians set up study groups by a) letting libertarians have the names and addresses of comrades in their home towns or local areas—this is of extreme importance, b) by actively searching out libertarians who are responsible to spread our propaganda c) by supplying speakers on relevant topics for local groups d) by printing topical pamphlets on *present* day problems, proposing present day solutions—not some horseshit like “How Private Courts Could Handle Pollution,” unless we are sending that pamphlet to a part of the world that has private courts, but something like, “What

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## WHAT IS TO BE DONE?

### A LETTER FROM AFAR

Not a person in the world expected the French Revolution—except Arthur Young, who no one listened to. The February Revolution in Russia, Trotsky recounts, took everyone by surprise; and Lenin himself had written in 1916 that he doubted the Revolution would come in his lifetime. Like Louis XVI and Nicholas II, Nixon too could fall overnight; the past stability of the US government certainly does not guarantee its immortality.

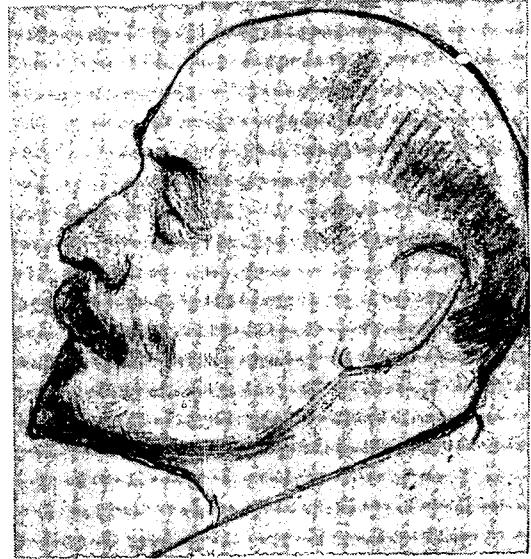
The US government is the bastion of reaction all over the world. Already in the quicksand of Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos, it not only supports dozens of dictatorships but is ready to send troops into new Vietnams: last fall, when the dual power pendulum was swinging to the side of the Palestinian people, the US imperialists had paratroopers ready to land in Jordan, which became unnecessary because of the US-USSR conspiracy, thereby averting people's war from spreading throughout all the Arab countries. The point is that *overnight* the US would not hesitate to intervene anywhere over the globe, and just as fast peoples war would inflame the whole Third World.

Two, three, many Vietnams, besides making the blood and money taxes unbearable among the masses in the US, would cut off the raw material sources from which it is presently possible to bribe the working classes. The process begun in a couple of countries, would spread to many others, including the black colony in the US, and finally the outraged masses in the US would rise. No matter how "patriotic" they act now, let those stars and stripes come in violent conflict with the dollar and the opportunistic masses will choose the latter.

Even with no more Vietnams a revolutionary situation within the belly of the monster is not inconceivable. When the US meets its Dien Bien Phu, fascist repression would rain down here, generating opposition from all classes. Also, never forget that direct domestic causes can create a revolution overnight—anyone who has grasped Mises looks forward to the inevitable monetary collapse and resultant depression, which Nixon's policy of recession with rising prices (!) leads closer to every day.

In short, while its death agony *may* be drawn out, it also may reach the point of no return overnight. While their tasks are infinite, libertarians must begin preparing for the latter possibility. We must recognize that Revolution is conceivable in the US, and that if we want it to result in a free society it falls on our shoulders to make it so. For this, there are three basic strategic steps we must concentrate on initiating:

First, recruitment and training of pure cadre. Over the past two years libertarians have done serious recruiting by educational methods, and are beginning to engage in resolute action, which must be greatly intensified so as to demonstrate that we are serious revolutionaries. In training existing cadre, we cannot criticize ourselves for not neglecting theoretical work, most libertarians are at least familiar with free market economics, revisionist history, and the political theory of anarchism. Yet we have virtually neglected strategy and tactics, and consequently we are not welded into a strong organization, which would be necessary if a revolutionary situation did come overnight. The *most pressing* tasks for libertarians are twofold: 1) internal education, which means that along with Spooner, Rothbard, Guerin, et al, we must *master* Bakunin (Part IV of the Maximoff



anthology; E. Pyziur's book on Bakunin); Lenin (What Is To Be Done, Left Wing Communism—An Infantile Disorder, etc.); E. Cleaver (Conversation in Algiers; also pro-Cleaver, avowedly Bakunist, Panther newspaper, RIGHT ON, from Central Headquarters, 1370 Boston Road, Bronx, NY); Carlos Marighella (Minimanual of the Urban Guerilla, from Central Distribution, 1336 Fill More St. San Francisco, CA 94115, 50 cents each); etc. 2) Our goal must be anarchist revolutionary organization able to move on two levels: an educational front and clandestine sections organized in decentralized cells. Is this daydreaming? Maybe, but if it's not worth it to try to translate freedom into reality then why bother being a libertarian? The least each can do *now* is to study revolutionary theory and to train oneself in self-defense (karate, firearms, etc.). And surely a national anarchist organization cannot be so far in the future.

Secondly, dialogue with and infiltration of potentially radical groups. It would be suicidal to play tailism with what remains of the New Left—certainly our chances of winning over the masses in the US are infinitely better in the long run than theirs, because libertarianism does not demand adherence to the drug cult, does not repudiate the right of a male and female to love each other, does not require mastery of Marx's collected works, etc. Nevertheless, it is to our advantage to make tactical alliances with them and to attempt to influence them so as to gain new recruits; besides, many of those identified with the Left are objectively Libertarian and should be regarded as full comrades. In addition, the "radical right" should not be dismissed out of hand—many are populist, isolationist, anti-monopoly, and hate the "Communist" US government; we have everything to gain by opening dialogue with some of these groups.

Third, we need publicity to inform the masses of our existence and our program. While mass based organizing is desirable, it is impossible so long as the masses benefit from the imperialist spoils. We must inform them that we are for an end to the draft, taxation, politicians, and other iniquities of the State, and in the event of a revolutionary situation they will know that a real alternative is available. But rather than wasting our time trying to *organize* small businessmen and hardhats, we must try to give them a minimum of education, and spend most of our time on points one and two above, especially the building of a libertarian revolutionary vanguard.

We can learn much from the experiences of Weatherman, the

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# WHAT IS TO BE DONE: A CRITIQUE OF METHOD

by Ralph Fucetola, John Brotschol, and Frank X. Richter

The article "What is to be Done" which appears in this ABOLITIONIST is a prime example of several of the major contradictions within libertarianism. The most glaring contradiction is between libertarian goals and authoritarian organizational methods, the other significant contradiction involves culture and tactics for meaningful change. Of lesser importance is the absurd historical analysis hinted at in the article: one word is enough to refute the myths about Lenin propounded in the article; that word is KRONSTADT. Anyone who still thinks that Stalinism was not the logical conclusion of Leninism, or that there was more than a dime's worth of difference between Lenin, Trotsky and Stalin is invited to read Cohn-Bendit's brilliant *Obsolete Communism: the Left Wing Alternative*, Maurice Brinton's *The Bolsheviks and Workers' Control* or Murray Bookchin's "The Myth of the Party" (available from LABS).

The history of other attempts to change society is only partially relevant to our mass, electronic civilization; the theory of change espoused during those attempts is of greater significance. "What is to be Done," aping the arch-organization man Lenin, almost calls for an elitist vanguard party—but a voluntary party, of course, as if "voluntary" dictatorial power would not corrupt as easily as any other type! The position bespeaks a totally naive attitude and an inability to learn the lessons of 19th and 20th century radicalism. THE SOCIETY YOU BUILD WILL REFLECT YOUR METHOD OF BUILDING. Which is why the Weather Underground confessing the mistake of "our military conception of what we are doing..." opted for libertarian struggle in their seminal New Morning statement. There they define leadership: "leaders grow out of being deeply in touch with movements. . . The Lakotas laughed at the white's appointing one man to be chief of all the Lakota tribes, as if people wouldn't still go with whichever leader they thought was doing the right thing. . ." The contradiction is between surrendering one's will to the Leader, or, following whoever in one's sovereign judgement is doing the right thing.

The prime error in the article is that the author implies that our libertarian ideal of a free society can be actualized in any cultural setting, thus he compounds his mistaken notions on organization (dictatorial means leading to free ends) with a virulent attack on the new culture. It would be easier if our ideal could exist in any culture, but it cannot. A culture is the expression of the general philosophical principles of those who create the culture over a period of time: TV terrible Amerika with its alcohol, violence and exploitation is not a candidate for liberation.

That's where the best elements of the counter-culture come in: we are developing an armed, self-conscious people, colonized by the Empire and prepared to throw it off; all of it, not just the present bunch of politicians, but the entire psychoepistemology [ed. note: read, false consciousness], culture and organization of the ruling class. 5,000 years of rule have warped not only our economic and social structure, but also our culture and our very perceptual faculties. People cannot conceive of a stateless society, but those who have learned that their own perceptions are conditioned by socially inculcated perceptual filters (psychedelics help in this realization; see Huxley's *The Doors of Perception*) are ready to doubt all the norms of the Empire's system. Political change, therefore, without cultural change is impossible: either before the "revolution" or, as in China, after it.

We need to forge an alliance of minorities, the disgruntled middle class (who are the slaves of this TV terrible culture), and their children: the counter-culture, a grouping which includes growing numbers of working class youth too. I think the recent youth riot in Albuquerque, which united white students and street people with chicanos, blacks and indians, is a step in that direction. A decentralized, free society can only be built by a decentralized movement which aims at uncovering the ruling class, showing the people where their interests lie, and, when the Uprising occurs, we must be ready to show people that they do not need a dictatorial vanguard to control them. Kronstadt is our predecessor, not the Bolshevik counter-revolution.

The broad outlines of the correct libertarian position on organization are becoming clear: the market is our model, not a gang of state-centralist power mongers. Besides, who the hell is Arthur Young anyway? —



## A GATHERING OF THE TRIBE

YES KIDDIES, THERE REALLY WILL BE A CONTINENTAL LIBERTARIAN GATHERING THIS SUMMER: IT WILL HAPPEN NEAR HOUSTON (LOOKS LIKE WE'LL HAVE A WHOLE DUDE RANCH TO OUR SELVES, A COUPLE OF BUCKS PER PERSON) AND WILL BE HELD FROM AUG 25 TO SEPT 3, SHOW UP ANY TIME. ALL SORTS OF LIBERTARIAN CELEBRITIES WILL COME, INCLUDING YOURSELF. FINAL LOCATION INFORMATION WILL BE AVAILABLE IN MID-AUGUST FROM HARD CORE NEWS, PO BOX 6631 HOUSTON TEXAS 77006. SE YA ALL!



## CULTURE AND CHANGE

by Ralph Fucetola

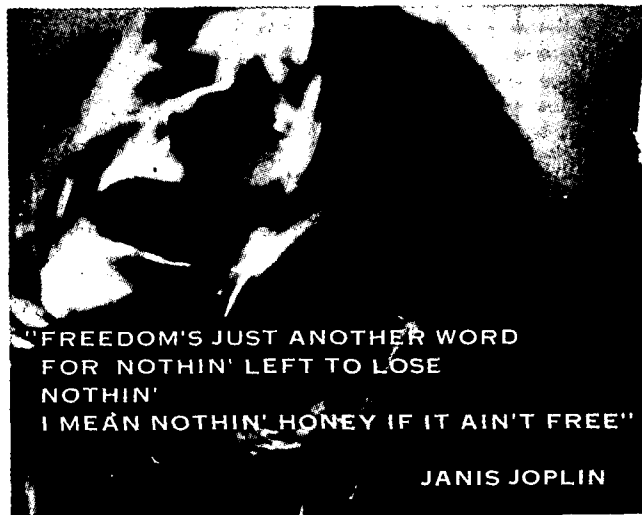
All hail the conquering heroes: the withdrawing army of the Untied Snakes of Amerika. Item: all US troops in the Mekong Delta have been confined to base as a massive sweep is conducted. . .to seize the soldiers' heroin.

Your young men were dragged from their homes to serve the state: to secure the markets of southeast asia. Now they return home as mental cases, mass murderers, drug addicts, corpses. What did you expect?

But let us bind our minds with abstractions and deplore the retreat from reason, let us discuss changing priorities, let us describe cost curves. Anything but coming to grips with the real disaster: WESTERN MAN—YOU HAVE FAILED!

*Step right up kids, it's Know Your Culture Week, proclaimed so by the president of the National Advertisers Kouncil. This is western culture: flush toilets, stereos, backyard barbeques, napalm, heroin, VA hospitals, my lai, dachau. . .would you buy a used culture from Lt. Calley?*

But let us decry the counter culture (or anti-culture, as one noted freemarket economist called it—what does he know of culture, he doesn't even have a TV by his arm chair.) The counter culture is anti-rational, it is nearly tribal, it didn't produce the H bomb. Sure, I don't really hate Beethoven and Dr. Saulk; I think indoor plumbing is a groove: but if the technological baby has to go with the imperialist bathwater, let it be.



What I'm saying, sisters and brothers, is that there is more to liberation than libertarian theory. Our ideal of non-aggression against non-aggressors cannot be actualized in just *any* cultural setting: culture is a profound expression of the moral norms held in a society. And . . . tricky Dick's electro-manical, machismo-alcoholic masterpiece, Western Kulture is just not conducive to freedom anymore—nor is any culture produced in a statist society: we need a change in men's minds, not just in their institutions.

The market or any other voluntary association cannot work

among people who have had 5,000 years of rule to condition their servility. Most people can't conceive of freedom: and that's the result of thousands of years of judeo-christian bull.

Which means the task ahead is tougher than we'd thought. The enemy is not just the ruling class and its states, it is also the entire social system—the culture created by them. Cultural Revolution is needed for real change: thus we must be concerned with exposing more than the predatory economic nature of the State, with its concomitant warping of economic institutions. Every other aspect of life has been corrupted by the state: culture, psychoepistemology, no less than economics. People must be shown that they can see things differently. That means the culture they live in must change, and for better or worse, the only candidate for a new culture around is that counter-culture: yes, with its cannabis, LSD, tribalism, scruffiness, scorn of rationality—BUT also the results of those factors: do-your-own thing-ism (which is the essence of individualism) and non-aggressiveness (which is the essence of libertarianism). And one more thing: a culture whose proponents are beginning to see themselves as a colony of the Empire and who are arming themselves in all ways to throw off that Empire and everything it stands for.

*SUNRISE. . .surprise civilized man,  
you were keeper to me,  
now your animal is free  
and you're free to die. . .die. . .  
you're old and your hands are grey  
you're old go home and  
we've all heard your dirty stories—  
two thousand years  
two thousand years  
two thousand years  
of your god damn glory—*

Grace Slick  
BLOWS AGAINST THE EMPIRE

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LIBERTARIAN CONTACTS- Michigan RLA, Student Activities Building 2534, U. of M., Ann Arbor, Michigan, 48104. Lysander Spooner RLA, POB 5140, Sherman Oaks, Cal. 91406. Chicago RLA, POB 4691, Chicago IL., 60680. RADICAL LIBERTARIAN (quarterly newspaper, \$1.00) 15 Yale St., Winchester, Mass. 01890 Stanford RLA, POB 4030, Stanford, Cal. 94305. Meriden RLA, 55 Harness Dr., Meriden, Conn. 06450. (If you'd like your address listed, let us know.)

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# I AM WAITING

*The valedictorian of the class of 1971 at Platt High School in Meridan Connecticut chose to read "I am waiting" by Lawrence Ferlinghetti, as a commencement address. The principal of the school forbade the reading of the poem. The issue went to the board of education which ruled that the poem was "Unfit for a*

*commencement audience." Consequently there was no commencement address for the class of 1971. THE ABOLITIONIST, not to be stopped by a mere principal, nor a board of miseducation, hereby presents:*

**I AM WAITING**

*by Lawrence Ferlinghetti  
(reprinted without permission)*

*I am waiting for my case to come up  
and I am waiting  
for a rebirth of wonder  
and I am waiting for someone  
to really discover America  
and wail  
and I am waiting  
for the discovery  
of a new symbolic western frontier  
and I am waiting  
for the American Eagle  
to really spread its wings  
and straighten up and fly right  
and I am waiting  
for the Age of Anxiety  
to drop dead  
and I am waiting  
for the war to be fought  
which will make the world safe  
for anarchy  
and I am waiting  
for the final withering away  
of all governments  
and I am perpetually awaiting  
a rebirth of wonder*

*I am waiting for the Second Coming  
and I am waiting  
for a religious revival  
to sweep through the state of Arizona  
and I am waiting  
for the Grapes of Wrath to be stored  
and I am waiting  
for them to prove  
that God is really American  
and I am seriously waiting  
for Billy Graham and Elvis Presley  
to exchange roles seriously  
and I am waiting  
to see God on television  
piped onto church altars  
if only they can find the right channel  
to tune in on  
and I am waiting  
for the Last Supper to be served again  
with a strange new appetizer  
and I am perpetually awaiting  
a rebirth of wonder*

*I am waiting for my number to be called  
and I am waiting  
for the living end*

*and I am waiting  
for dad to come home  
his pockets full  
of irradiated silver dollars  
And I am waiting  
for the atomic tests to end  
and I am waiting happily  
for things to get much worse  
before they improve  
and I am waiting  
for the Salvation Army to take over  
and I am waiting  
for the human crowd  
to wander off a cliff somewhere  
clutching its atomic umbrella  
and I am waiting  
for Ike to act  
and I am waiting  
for the meek to be blessed  
and inherit the earth  
without taxes  
and I am waiting  
for forests and animals  
to reclaim the earth as theirs  
and I am waiting  
for a way to be devised  
to destroy all nationalisms  
without killing anybody*

*and I am waiting  
for linnets and planets to fall like rain  
and I am waiting for lovers and weepers  
to lie down together again  
in a new rebirth of wonder*

*I am waiting for the Great Divide  
to be crossed  
and I am anxiously waiting  
for the secret of eternal life to be  
discovered  
by an obscure general practioner  
and save me forever from certain death  
and I am waiting  
for life to begin  
and I am waiting  
for the storms of life  
to be over  
and I am waiting  
to set sail for happiness  
and I am waiting  
for a reconstructed Mayflower  
to reach America  
with its picture story and TV rights  
sold in advance to the natives  
and I am waiting*

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## libertarian analysis

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You Can Do About Pollution When the Politician Fails" emphasizing finding out what companies pollute each town involved and discussing legal and extralegal ways to zap them. Our pamphlets then should be how to pamphlets, encouraging local libertarian groups to get with the job of dismantling the state and righting state wrongs today, not come the millenia.

Proposal D above is *not* an invitation to left adventurism. As anarchists our task today should be to mobilize against the State—to organize people around action, not ideology; ideology is important to develop cadre, but it is not the best way to organize people. First we need fighters (in every sense of the word) then we can educate the best of them into cadres.

What is the best way to refine our tactics? Clearly by practice, practice and more practice. How are we to tell if we are doing well or poorly: is freedom advancing by our efforts, or retreating.

Proposal D above implies some clear conception in our mind about what actions are most important, what less. It is in the area of priorities of course that our "right wing" friends are notoriously perverse. To the extent that we carry on a lively ideological debate with our local people we should be able to straighten out their priorities—if we have them straight ourselves. What issues should we hit first, what ones later? What should the national office do as far as pamphlets and programmes? I suggest:

1). Since the State is the institution of organized robbery by which come people benefit from others, local groups should discover and pinpoint their own ruling class: every town has one. And while it would probably be politically impossible to wrest such stolen property back, the local RLA's should muck rake and find out what shady deals are going on today or proposed for tomorrow; we should organize opposition by the community to expose and embarrass the ruling class (ala SDS's Morningside Heights action.) National RLA—that's us—should do some research into how to find out who the ruling class is in each town: That should be put into a pamphlet to go to regional rla's.

2). Since the state exercises control of the command posts of society, regional groups should be aided in campaigns to decentralize everone of these command posts: schools, hospitals, planning commissions. RLA members should be encouraged to demand neighborhood control of neighborhood facilities. When questioned about their politics, members should call themselves "libertarians." We must avoid the endgame error (playing the opening moves of a game by the strategy only appropriate for the close of the game). To call yourself an anarchist today—even to advocate the "total free market" or some other euphemism *today*

is to bore, confuse of frighten people. Lets just be concerned that our tactics are moving us in *the correct direction*, nothing else at the moment matters. Of course, if some shrewd observer asks one of our members what the logical implications of our political actions are, we should proudly state "a free society." When such a person wants further details—out of interest or curiosity, he can be introduced to the cadre. If a member is questioned to be discredited, he should rightfully refuse to discuss his ideology, on the grounds that the question is a red herring, designed to divert people from the important work at hand (decentralization, or what ever).

3). RLA should be very active in the sexual and personal freedom movement. Pamphlets should be written by national RLA ridiculing and refuting the arguments of those who would coercively deny people the right of their own bodies. Abortion law repeal should be pushed in every state that presently has a

law on the books. We might write up a pamphlet suggesting tactics to local groups exposing, whenever possible, the particular sexual activities of local censors—sometimes local censors are very sick people. Again the push should be to discredit and demythologize the State in the eyes of the people. Massive civil disobedience in the form of smoke-ins, re grass, can be organized. Local RLA chapters might set up Head Liberation Fronts to end or at least combat, state suppression of the hippy life style.

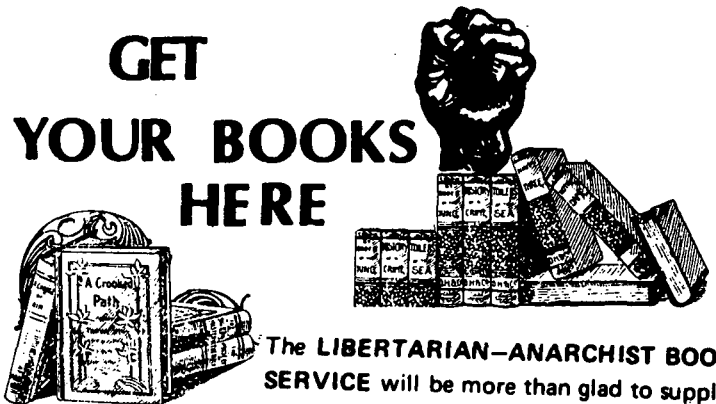
4). When possible RLA members should work with pacifist and conscience groups to combat the draft: again the personal touch is important. Local groups could purchase a billboard saying "John Smith (head of local draft board) wants to send *your* son off to war," it would be interesting to see whether or not sons of draft board employees are enjoying deferments, etc. RLAers should work closely with the Berrigan forces on this, as they have had quite a number of good tactical ideas. Regular political work on the draft should be done too.

5). Of course each group should get as much legal and moral support as possible from the central rla. To date our defense fund responses have been abysmal. What kind of weirdos do we have on our mailing lists who will spend \$50 on FTS buttons but nothing on helping comrades get out of jail? The kind of weirdos, I suggest, who one tends to gather when one tries to organize a group around abstract principle rather than concrete actions.

6) I believe that an RLA such as I envision would have another good function: the decentralized set up—coupled with a central

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books,

continued from preceding page

clearing house—would enable us to learn better tactics as we went along. Even now we should have a feedback section. Local RLA chapters should have a chance to tell us what they are doing, in the AB. In the future, as RLA develops—if it develops—it will become necessary to supplement the AB with a weekly newsletter, mimeographed cheaply and distributed in bulk to local responsible people who can get it around. (Hence saving us some postage, I think.)

(We might even issue, more permanently, sequels to certain organizing pamphlets such as "What happened to the polluters in Kichuwa Maine, a report of RLA chapter Harvard-Radcliffe division. "This hypothetical pamphlet would summarize Boston RLA's success or failure in confronting polluters, for example, to enable other RLA groups to profit from another groups experience.

Well, those are a few of the ideas that are floating around my head right now. I realize that what with the small number of people we have not all that I envision can be accomplished over night. All that I hope is that we all see the need to move in this direction.

Concretely, this much could be done: In the next issue of the

AB we could state that anyone who wants to set up an RLA group, or for that matter, just wants to meet libertarians, say so: we will provide a list of libertarians from the immediate area who also want to meet with others. All those responding to this and getting a list should then be contacted to ask them how things are going vis a vis organizing local chapters. If they have any problems we should see if we can help, with regard to literature, etc.

A set of intelligent *practical* "how to" pamphlets could be written and distributed widely to people on our mailing lists. From then on we just have to leave it up to the people.

I am almost willing to bet that we would get almost zero response to all this, at first. But it is the kind of work that is going to have to be done if RLA—and the libertarian movement—is ever going to become something real.

In accordance with the libertarian principle of voluntary action, I hereby volunteer to do as much work as necessary for a RLA organized, essentially, on the above grounds.

I remain,

your friend and fellow anarchist,

Frank Richter

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only serious white student revolutionary group in recent years. In 1969 appeared "You Don't Need a Weatherman To Know Which Way the Wind Blows" which is a real jewel for libertarians, as it extols such facts as "the legitimacy of the state is called into question for the first time in at least 30 years, and the anti-authoritarianism which characterizes the youth rebellion turns into rejection of the State, a refusal to be socialized into American society." Unlike the more classical Marxist RYM II, Weatherman noted in neo-Bakuninist fashion that "the pigs are the capitalist state," that is, the pigs are not only the state monopoly capitalists, but also the police, the military and bureaucracy. And: "To win a war with the enemy as highly organized and centralized as the imperialists will require a (clandestine) organization of revolutionaries, having also a unified 'general staff'; that is, combined at some point with discipline under one centralized leadership." But this *voluntarily* centralized party of professional revolutionaries requires a mass base: "No revolutionary party could possibly survive without relying on the active support and participation of masses of people."

A few months later Weatherman went underground. Pig spys in Weatherman have since testified that, since their underground base was the hippie world, Weatherman (in spite of organizational rules) began using extensively drugs to which they were constantly exposed. It is easy to see why the first Weatherman underground communication, authored by Bernardine Dohrn, reflected this downfall: "Freaks are revolutionaries and revolutionaries freaks." She also blurted that only the kids who are simultaneously "making love, smoking dope, and loading guns" will change the world, and that "We fight in many ways. Dope is one of our weapons." Funny, J. Edgar Hoover has always thought that dope is one of *his* weapons. Last year at Portland only 1,000 people came for the People's Army Jamboree, while at the same time 50,000 freaks showed up 25 miles away for rock festivals—one of which was sponsored by Oregon's governor. Incidentally, we might reflect that since Bakunin and Mao were not "freaks" they must not have been revolutionaries (!) This is contemptuous. Take Mao: he tried to look like the masses, instead of differentiating himself from them, he re-transformed himself into a peasant, and waged campaigns against opium

use—by which the British imperialists had subjected the whole of China a century before. For an identical reason the police today perpetuate drug use in the black ghetto. The whole drug cult was planned and created years ago by agents of the ruling class; without TV, spectator sports, and now drugs, the masses might think of things that matter: then the natives would really get restless. The hateful corporate liberal strategist Clark Kerr revealed their plot in *Industrialism and Industrial Man* where he calls for "the New Bohemism" (p. 236) to destroy the frustration created by the totalitarian state he applauds, thereby channeling excess energy to "counter" what would result in rebellion.

Succeeding Weatherman communications have also repudiated revolutionary principles. The fifth one, issued in Oct. 1970, babbles: "We are building a culture and a society that can resist genocide. It is a culture. . . of high-energy sisters getting it on, of hippie acid-smiles and communes and freedom to be the farthest out people we can be." These bourgeois children may "resist" genocide for themselves because of their white skin privileges, but their life style is hardly conducive to resisting genocide among the Vietnamese people. The NLF partisans have no "hippie acid-smiles," and it is Great White Chauvinism for us to have them. The statement adds: "It's a culture that can take care of its people; Rosemary and Tim are free and high." "Its" people are the privileged freak friends of Bernardine and Co., not the masses of oppressed people, who are anything but "free and high."

"Changing Weather" was the message of the December 1970 communication. Besides parroting the stuff about drugs, they emphasize the importance of living in communes—a bourgeois moralistic call to which, when asked to join one, Lenin responded with some remark to the effect of "Go to Hell!" Then again, the "revisionist" Lenin must not have been a *real* revolutionary; he didn't do drugs, he was an intellectual, and horror of horrors, he was married, the male chauvinist! Otherwise, the Panther 21 suggested that this communication smacked of right wing opportunism, for which Huey Newton expelled them from the BPP (echoes of Marx's expulsion of Bakunin from the First International). We must not belittle the Weatherman for the serious actions they have carried out, but we must learn the lessons of their degeneration so as not to repeat their mistakes.



*continued from page 5*

*for the lost music to sound again  
in the Lost Continent  
in a new rebirth of Wonder*

*I am waiting for the day  
that maketh all things clear  
and I am waiting  
for Ole Man River  
to just stop rolling along  
past the country club  
and I am waiting  
for the deepest South  
to just stop Reconstructing itself  
in its own image  
and I am waiting  
for a sweet desegregated chariot  
to swing low  
and carry me back to Ole Virginie  
and I am waiting  
for Ole Virginie to discover  
just why Darkies are born  
and I am waiting  
for God to look out*

*from Lookout Mountain  
and see the "Ode to the Confederate  
Dead"  
as a real farce  
and I am awaiting retribution  
for what America did  
to Tom Sawyer  
and I am perpetually awaiting  
a rebirth of wonder -*

*I am waiting for Tom Swift to  
grow up  
and I am waiting  
for the American Boy  
to take off Beauty's Clothes  
and get on top of her  
and I am waiting  
for Alice in Wonderland  
to retransmit to me  
her total dream of innocence  
and I am waiting  
for Childe Roland to come  
to the final darkest tower  
and I am waiting*

*for Aphrodite  
to grow live arms  
at a final disarmament conference  
in a new rebirth of wonder*

*I am waiting  
to get some intimations  
of immortality  
by recollecting my early childhood  
and I am waiting  
for the green mornings to come back again  
and I am waiting  
for some strains of unpremeditated art  
to shake my typewriter  
and I am waiting to write  
the great indelible poem  
and I am perpetually waiting  
for the fleeing lovers on the Grecian  
Urn  
to catch each other at last  
and embrace  
and I am awaiting  
perpetually and forever  
a renaissance of wonder*

*Those who profess to favor freedom and yet deprecate agitation,  
are men who want rain without thunder and lightning. They  
want the ocean without the roar of its many waters—*

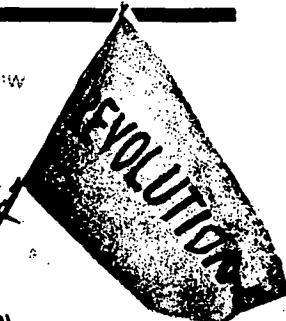
*—Frederick Douglass*

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